1: Holmberg--30 [3] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 261

"Two of the most frequent expressions that one hears around a Siriono shelter are: 'šediákwa túti' ('My stomach is very empty') and 'ma nde šeri' ('Give me something'). To the latter may be added an appeal for some delicacy, such as a piece of tapir or peccary meat, a bit of wild bee honey, or whatever else to eat someone may have around. But since the attention of the Siriono is most frequently and forcibly focused on his stomach, requests for anything but food are rare. Not infrequently the unlucky hunter, while resting from an unsuccessful chase, is reproached by his wife for not having brought home more game, and, invariably, as one leaves for the hunt, the women and children call after him such commands as 'Bring me back the leg of a peccary' or 'Bring me back some tapir meat.' "

1: Holmberg--30 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261

"The environmental and cultural conditions which exist among the Siriono are most favorable for giving rise to a strong anxiety about questions of food. It would seem, in fact, that of all the basic drives demanding satisfaction for survival, hunger is the one most frequently frustrated."

1: Holmberg--30 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 261

"The supply of food is rarely abundant and always insecure. Game is not plentiful; the techniques of hunting, fishing, and agriculture are very limited; patterns of food storage do not exist. Consequently, eating habits depend largely upon quantities of food available for consumption at the moment. When food is plentiful people eat to excess and do little else; when it is scarce they go hungry while looking for something more to eat. Starvation, however, never occurs. There are times when the Indians go for days on a diet of motacú fruits and palm cabbage, but these seem to be adequate for subsistence until game can be hunted. I know of one instance in which a party of Indians survived for 18 or 20 days on a diet of nothing more than palm cabbage and a few wild fruits collected from the forest. Since they were on the march during this time, and were thus using up a great deal of energy, they exhibited definite signs of undernourishment after their journey."

"While I was living at Tibaera, my attention was called one afternoon to the arrival of seven Indians (two men, two women, and three children) who appeared to be especially thin and emaciated. After giving them some food, I inquired as to the reason for their semistarved condition. One of the men told me that they had run away from the Government School at Casarabe, situated about a hundred miles east through an uninhabited forest and plain that contained no trails, and that they had been without food for 'many' days. This struck me as strange, inasmuch as the men were carrying their bows and arrows and the lands through which they had come were known to contain considerable game, including wild cattle which occasionally stray from the herds that wander on the plains of Mojos. Their hunger, it turned out, resulted not from the lack of game but from a lack of fire. After leaving the school, they marched at a rapid [31] pace for a day or two to escape pursuit, after which they became so fatigued that while they were sleeping heavily one night their fires became extinguished. Since the Siriono have lost the art of making fire, and will not eat raw game under any conditions, this party was left with the alternative either of returning to the school and being severely punished for running away or of striking out in the direction of settlements which they knew to exist on the Rio Blanco and being rewarded by obtaining fire and freedom. While making the journey to Tibaera, they were reduced to a diet of a few plants and wild fruits which they found along the way, and because of the young children they were considerably impeded in their progress. Thus the journey, which would normally take about 6 to 8 days to

complete on a full diet, lengthened to a period of 18 or 20 days because of the meager diet on which they were forced to exist. One of the men told me that if they had not arrived when they did they might well have starved to death."

1: Holmberg--34 [5] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 251, 261

"Wild fruits and other edible forest products are likewise never preserved or stored. Once the season of wild foods has passed they are not eaten again until the next season comes around.

With respect to the food supply in general it can be said that, except for certain agricultural products like manioc, maize, and camotes, reserves for more than 2 or 3 days are never built up. Fortunately the environment offers a constant source of some foods, like palm cabbage, so that even though hunger is often intense starvation is never imminent."

1: Holmberg--36 [7] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 261

"The quantities of food eaten on occasions are formidable. It is not uncommon for four people to eat a peccary of 60 pounds at a single sitting. When meat is abundant, a man may consume as much as 30 pounds within 24 hours. On one occasion, when I was present, two men ate six spider monkeys, weighing from 10 to 15 pounds apiece, in a single day, and complained of being hungry that night."

1: Holmberg--37 [4] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 261, 276, 825

"All smoking is done in the house. It is considered bad form to smoke while on the hunt, as it is believed that animals will be driven away by the smell. Most smoking thus takes place while the Siriono are resting in the hammock or having drinking feasts, and hunters almost always smoke immediately after returning from the forest to stave off hunger until they are given some food."

1: Holmberg--61 [7] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 578, 261

"Data were recorded on 75 disputes that came to my attention, apart from those that took place at drinking feasts. It is significant to note that 44 of them arose directly over questions of food (mostly between women or between husband and wife); 19 broke out over sex (between husband and wife, cowives and women); only 12 were assignable to various other causes. Here we have overwhelming evidence of the important role played by food in Siriono society. It is the most prominent cause of ingroup strife."

1: Holmberg--61 [8] (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 578

"People constantly complain and quarrel about the distribution of food. They accuse each other of not sharing food, of hoarding food, of eating at night, and of stealing off into the forest to eat. This was particularly noticeable at Tibaera, where Silva and I made considerable effort to initiate cooperative planting of gardens—a custom foreign to the Siriono under aboriginal conditions. Several acres of land were cooperatively cleared and planted with maize. While the maize was ripening, bitter complaints were registered, and quarrels took place over its distribution, although there was plenty of maize for everyone. People accused each other of stealing maize before it was ripe, of harvesting more than they had a right to, of transporting it into the forest and eating it on the sly. Men complained that they had done most of the work, while the women were eating most of the crop. In fact, few men ventured on the hunt at this time for fear of returning to find that others had eaten most of the crop of maize."

1: Holmberg--61-62 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 578

"Quarreling over the allotment of meat is equally common. While the distribution of meat is ordi[62]narily confined to the extended family because the supply is seldom abundant, there is usually someone within the family who feels that he is not getting his share. Especially do the men accuse the women of hoarding meat, of eating it when the men are not around, or of consuming more than their share. Enía said to me one night, 'When someone comes near the house, women hide the meat; they cover it with leaves. When you ask them where the meat is they tell you there is none. They eat in the night and steal off in the forest to eat."

1: Holmberg--62 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261

"The reluctance to share meat is clearly reflected in the behavior of returning hunters. The bigger the catch the more sullen the hunter. The hunter adopts this pose so as not to be approached for game. On returning from the hunt a man sometimes does not even carry his game into the house but leaves it beside the trail near the house and comes in empty-handed, aggressive and angry. Upon entering the house he throws himself into the hammock. This is the signal for his wife or whoever else is around to bring him a pipeful of tobacco, which he smokes without saying a word. If he has brought the game into the house, his wife sets about to prepare it; if it is still out in the forest, she goes out to retrieve it. The hunter maintains his unapprochable manner until after the game has been cooked and eaten."

1: Holmberg--95 (1941-42) 1950 Siriono
116, 152, 261, 105

"The evidence for strong appetitive and anxiety responses toward food in Siriono society is overwhelming. Hasty preparation of food, lack of complex recipes, absence of standardized routines of eating, stealing off into the forest to eat, wolfing food, over-eating, reluctance to share food, lack of food preferences except on a quantitave basis, absence of etiquette and ritual with respect to food, eating when sick, eating when not hungry, excessive quarreling over food, fantasies and dreams about food, insults in terms of food, etc., may all be regarded as direct manifestations of the strength of the secondary drive of eating and of the anxiety that centers around the satisfaction of the hunger drive.

How do such attitudes and behavior toward food arise and develop in the Siriono child? A glance at the data from the life cycle clearly indicates that adult behavior toward food cannot be accounted for on the basis of the experiences of infancy and early childhood. The nursing infant is almost never deprived of food; whenever he cries his mother offers him the breast. He is greatly loved. He is exposed to almost no punishment except what he indirectly suffers from the rigors of the environment, but his parents do everything they can to protect him from cold south winds, from rain, and from insect pests. He can express aggression freely; he is not forced to walk or talk early; weaning is not a traumatic experience. In short, the infant is rarely punished or frustrated. Hence the conditions existing in infancy are not favorable for giving rise to the food anxiety manifested in adulthood."

2: Holmberg--174
116, 261, 152

(1941-42) 1946

Siriono

"Nnia said to me one night, 'When someone comes near the house, women hide the meat; they cover it with leaves of patuju (wild banana). When you ask them where the meat is they tell you there is none. They eat in the night and steal off in the forest to eat. Women even push meat up their vaginas to hide it.'"